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#1 Gladstone and reform

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GLADSTONE AND REFORM

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SUBMITTED BY

MRS. E. L. HILL, B.A.,


for the

DEGREE of MASTER of ARTS.

UNIVERSITY of ALBERTA,

MAY, 1911.





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"I met the Duke of Newcastle upon the broad ground of public principle, and upon that ground alone. I own no other bond of union with him than this, that he in his exalted sphere, and I in my humble one, entertained the same persuasion, that the institutions of this country are to be defended against those who threaten their destruction, at all hazards, and to all extremities.----- You return me to parliament, not merely because I am the Duke of Newcastle's man : but because both the man whom the duke has sent and the duke himself, are your men."----- (Speech to electors after election at Newark 1832).

"We are compelled to accompany that acceptance with the sorrowful declaration that the differences, not of a temporary or casual nature merely, but differences of conviction, differences of prepossession differences of mental habit, and differences of fundamental tendency, between the House of Lords

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and the House of Commons, appear to have reached a development in the present year such as to create a state of things of which we are compelled to say that, in our judgment, it cannot continue:-----

----- The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people, and a deliberative assembly occupied by many men of virtue, by many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue."

(Last speech in House of Commons, 1894.)

Between these two speeches lies the whole political history, extending over sixty years, of William Ewart Gladstone.

The writer seeks, in the following pages, to trace the influence of various forces operating to bring about the remarkable and unusual change of mental attitude revealed in the foregoing quotations.

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Between these two speeches lies the whole political history, extending over sixty years, of William Ewart Gladstone.  
The writer seeks, in the following pages, to trace the influence of various forces operating to bring about the remarkable and unusual change of mental attitude revealed in the foregoing quotations.



History, biography, and fiction have presented again and again the young man entering the arena of public life, confident that the remedy for the evils which exist on every hand is the overturning of present day institutions. He is at war with his father's ideas. He is certain that if he and those who think as he does are only allowed to have their way, humanity will rapidly progress toward the long-sought goal of universal happiness. The young man, radical though he may be at the beginning of his career, becomes, as the years go by, more and more conservative, more and more tenacious of the institutions of the past, less and less inclined to change.

In striking contrast to this usual type of political experience is the career of Gladstone. His history is a reversal of the common order. In youth he clung to tradition - in old age he foresaw and favored reforms most radical.

An anti-reform speech at the Oxford Union in undergraduate days brings him, almost as soon as he

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An anti-reform speech at the Oxford Union in  
consequence says of him, almost as soon as he



leaves the College halls, an offer of a great man's influence in the borough of Newark. Our first quotation is taken from the successful candidate's speech to the electors. Between that and our second extract there lies a long road. But a straight road, if long enough, and consistently followed, must necessarily lead one to a great distance from the starting point.

In considering thus a life so different from that of the average public man, we are led to note the circumstances or other influences which combined to produce the final result. Chief among these were, a home where religion was real and personal, an education received at Eton and Oxford, and the friendships of some of the best known men of his time. To these outside influences must be added those characteristics which were innate--his dual personality, "half Highland, half Lowland", derived from his Scotch ancestry, and combining the caution and steadfastness of the one with the impetuosity and fire of the other ; his religious life permeating all his activities ; his love of truth ; his desire

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always to be fair ; and his marvellous capacity for close, continuous thought and work. Then somewhere or somehow, he became imbued with the Anglo-Saxon love of liberty and self-government.

He was born in Liverpool in 1809, the fourth and youngest son of John Gladstone. There were also in the family two daughters. To the decidedly religious influence of his sister Anne, who died in 1829, Gladstone himself bears testimony. But that influence was only accentuated by the religious atmosphere of the home. The mother, though suffering much from bodily pain, left a strong impression of her piety and fortitude on the mind of her son. The father was accustomed to discuss all subjects freely with his children. He could not understand why any one, knowing the right, should not follow it. His interest in religious matters expressed itself also in a practical manner in the building of churches. Of these he built three even before successful business had brought wealth.

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In spite of Gladstone's devotion to and admiration of his father, there must have been, however, some occasional questionings in regard to his enterprises. In the later years of his mercantile life, John Gladstone, who had been head of an East India firm, became the owner of some large sugar plantations in Jamaica and Demerara. These were, of course, worked by slave labour. In 1823, an outbreak of the slaves in Demerara was put down with great cruelty, and the Gladstone estates figure prominently in the parliamentary reports. The owner defended himself by numerous letters and pamphlets in which he did not "defend slavery in the abstract, but protested against the abuse levelled at the planters." To present-day standards the combination of "fervid, evangelical religion with antagonism to abolition" would seem an impossible thing ; but it was from a family where such a union existed that there came one who in later days was looked to as champion by those European nations who struggled for freedom.

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In 1821 he was sent to Eton where he remained for over six years. Here he did nothing remarkable, though there remains a tradition that he was a favorite of a head master remembered chiefly for terror-inspiring qualities. During this period he was characterized as a "diligent, cheerful, healthy-minded school-boy".

October, 1828 finds him entering Christ Church College, Oxford. Here he continued many of the friendships begun at Eton- Frederick Rogers, Doyle, Gaskell, Charles Canning and the two Denisons. New acquisitions at Oxford were Phillimore, F.D.Maurice and Sidney Herbert. His friend Arthur Hallam had entered Cambridge. The two men, Hope and Manning, who became perhaps his closest friends in later days and whose conversion to Roman Catholicism made such a break in his life were here not much more than acquaintances.

In the debates at the Oxford Union he shows himself an ardent pupil of Canning and an opponent of Reform. In Canning he had a close, personal



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Lyonsian work at San Diego, before he  
Gessell, Charles Gessell and the two Gessells, the  
associates at Oxford were William, W. Gessell  
and John Gessell. He lived with John and  
entered the ministry. The two men, John and William,  
who became partners in 1881, in 1881  
days and whose conversion to Roman Catholicism  
made such a mark in his life were not with  
more than acquaintances.

In the latter part of the Oxford Union he was  
himself an active pupil of Gessell and an opponent  
of Gessell. In Gessell he had a close, personal

interest because of the latter's political connection with John Gladstone at Liverpool.

Our undergraduate's interest in the politics of the time was not confined to college halls. In the autumn of 1831 he journeyed to London to hear the debate on the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. He also took part with other undergraduates in the proceedings of the great election that followed, joining with them in the anti-reform procession. At the end of 1831 he leaves Oxford, having obtained the rare honour of a double-first.

Of the influence of Oxford upon his thinking, he writes, many years later :

"I think that Oxford teaching had in our day an anti-popular tendency. I must add that it was not owing to the books, but rather to the way in which they were handled : and further, that it tended still more strongly in my opinion to make the love of truth paramount over all other motives in the mind and thus that it supplied an antidote for whatever it had of bane. The Reform Bill frightened me in 1831

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it had of harm. The masters still frightened me in 1851



and drove me off my natural and previous bias. Burke and Canning misled many on that subject and they misled me".

and again

"Oxford had rather tended to hide from me the great fact that liberty is a great and precious gift of God, and that human excellence cannot grow up in a nation without it. And yet I do not hesitate to say that Oxford had even at this time laid the foundations of my liberalism -----while in the arms of Oxford, I was possessed through and through with a single-minded and passionate love of truth."

Here then we have a young man, brought up in all the traditions of toryism, and prepared at the outset of his career to stand by those principles.

He enters parliament in the beginning of 1833. The high tide of reform which had culminated in Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832, had not yet wholly ebbed, and the first session of the reformed parliament attempted and accomplished much

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in the way of reform legislation. In this parliament it is well to note that there was a group of men, followers of Peel, distinct from the inveterate Tories and known as Conservatives. Peel decided at once that, the nation having spoken so strongly for reform, it was necessary for him to accept its will. From his position in the House Peel no doubt exercised a great influence upon the young man just entering : yet it is interesting to note that one who afterwards became a leader in legislation voted with his party. Morley says, recording the work of that first session :

"Besides his speeches he gave a full number of party votes, some of them interesting enough in view of the vast career before him. I think the first of them all was in the majority of 428 against 40 upon O'Connell's amendment for repeal, - an occasion that came vividly to his memory on the eve of his momentous change of policy in 1886. He voted for the worst clauses of the Irish Coercion Bill including the court-martial clause. He fought steadily against the



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ous change of policy in 1832. He voted for the super-  
cancellation of the Irish Coercion Bill including the  
wager-litigious clause. He fought strenuously against the

admission of Jews to parliament. He fought against the admission of dissenters without a test to the universities, which he described as seminaries for the established church. He supported the existing corn law. He said 'No' to the property tax and 'Aye' for retaining the house and window taxes. He resisted a motion of Hume's for the abolition of military and naval sinecures (Feb.14) and another motion of the same excellent man's for the abolition of all flogging in the army save for mutiny and drunkenness. He voted against the publication of the division lists. He voted with ministers both against shorter parliaments, and ( April 25) against the ballot, a cardinal reform carried by his own government forty years later. On the other hand he voted (July5) with Lord Ashley against postponing his beneficent policy of factory legislation: but he did not vote either way a fortnight later when Althorp sensibly reduced the limit of ten hours work in factories from the impracticable age of eighteen, proposed by Ashley, to the age of thirteen. He supported a bill against

admission of Jews in Parliament. He thought that  
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university, which he described as something for  
the educated class. He suggested the existing  
own law. He said 'No' to the property tax and 'Yes'  
for removing the houses and village taxes. In passing  
a motion of thanks for the abolition of military  
and naval conscription (1901-1902) and another motion of  
the same excellent man's for the abolition of all  
taxes in the army were for voting and discussion.  
He voted against the abolition of the division  
list. He voted with ministers both against a  
resolution, and (April 20) against the bill, a  
decision which carried by the own government forty  
years later. On the other hand he voted (1913) with  
the opposition against opposing the conscription bill  
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the first of the house were in favour of the  
unpopular law of conscription, proposed by Asquith,  
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work on Sundays."

On the occasion of his first speech while defending the West India planters, (his own father's agents in particular ), from the charges of cruelty, he confessed that cases of cruelty had existed, and would always exist, under a system of slavery, and that this was a "substantial reason why the British legislature and public should set themselves in good earnest to provide for its extinction." In this he goes ahead of his leader, for Peel in 1833 would have nothing to do with emancipation, either gradual or immediate.

The next year, notable for its changes of ministry, brought the passing of the new 'Poor Law'. Concerning this great and needed reform Gladstone says "The government and Lord Althorp did themselves high honour". By this act the English peasantry was rescued from the total loss of their independence. This year , the reins of power passing from Melbourne to Wellington, and a month later from Wellington to Peel, brings to Gladstone his first office in Peel's government.

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On the occasion of his first speech while detained in the West India House (his own father's agency in particular) from the danger of cruelty, he contended that there of cruelty had existed, and would always exist, under a system of slavery, and that

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The next year, notable for its changes of ministry, brought the meeting of the new 'Poor Law' Committee. This great and needed reform was the "The Government and Lord Althorp did themselves right honourable." By this act the English Government was removed from the control of their independence. This year, the time of power passing from Wellington to Peel, and a month later from Wellington to Peel. Peel to Wellington his first office in Peel's Government.

The appointment of such a young man to the treasury on his own account and not on his father's was an innovation, justified only by the great promise of the one appointed. There was, of course, the needed appeal to his constituents at Newark to confirm his appointment. In asking re-election, Gladstone claimed that the new government was the real reforming government, pointing to the commercial changes in Liverpool's time, the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation, the practical reforms of Peel and the retrenchments of Wellington. Shortly after his re-election he was transferred to the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonies. The government was not strong enough to remain in office for long, and in April, 1835, Melbourne was again in the position of Prime Minister- to continue there till September.1841.

These six years of opposition gave the Conservative leaders opportunity to recognize and test the abilities of their young recruit. Before half the period had elapsed he had a definite place in the front



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in the position of Prime Minister in coalition  
with the Conservatives. 1851.

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leaders opportunity to recognize and test the abilities  
of their young members. Before the end of the period  
had elapsed he had a definite place in the House

rank of debaters, The promise of his performances at the Oxford Union was being fulfilled.

Had Gladstone passed away at the end of this first period of public life, men would have said of him that his career was the exact product of his talents and circumstances. Of the possibility of any other force or forces silently working to lead him to points of view and courses of action so greatly opposed to what men of that time considered to be his principles, no hint had, as yet, been given.

Reference has already been made to the religion that permeated all his activities. It is scarcely possible to separate his religious activities from those usually considered secular. Indeed, such a separation would, of necessity, give an incorrect representation of the man, because his religion was the main-spring of his whole life. While his whole life thus moved in accordance with his religion, it is not strange that we find him intensely devoted to the interests of his Church. This devotion leads him now to publish his first book. This book,

year of 1847, the Council of the University

of the Oxford Union was being formed.

And this was the year of the first

period of public life, men would have said of him

that his career was the most brilliant of his career

and distinguished, of the country of his country

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forgotten now, is interesting only because of the picture it gives us of the author's mind, knowing as we do that he came to see the limitations of the principles expounded and that he had courage to pass legislation directly opposed to those principles.

Dr. Chalmers had been brought to London to lecture on and vindicate Church Establishment. But the principles propounded did not meet with the approval of Gladstone: he speaks of them as a "jumble of church, unchurch, and anti-church principles" and seizes the occasion to defend the Establishment more systematically. The result was "The State in its relations with the Church". This appeared in the latter part of 1838.

The publication of a second edition brought forth a criticism by Macaulay, and thus gives to us a contemporary's view of the young author. He speaks of him as "the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories who follow, reluctantly and mutinously, a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper

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and moderate opinions they abhor. It would not be at all strange if Mr. Gladstone were one of the most unpopular men in England. But we believe that we do him no more than justice when we say that his abilities and his demeanour have obtained for him the respect and good will of all parties."

In 1841, Gladstone's real work in legislation may be said to have begun. Peel's appointment of him to the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade was perhaps no more than an act of political expediency. In the leader's mind a place must be found for him, and this place was the only one to which objection could not be made. Gladstone's ambition may have led him to think he was deserving of a less subordinate position. He speaks of being "set to govern packages". Nevertheless the appointment had far-reaching consequences. Having accepted the position, Gladstone set himself conscientiously to work to perform the duties of his office.

He soon comes to the conclusion that his superior, The President of the Board of Trade had but little knowledge of the department : the members of the



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It soon came to the conclusion that his superior knowledge of the Department, the members of the

permanent staff,also, were able to give him but little assistance in mastering the details of the work to be undertaken. The question of the corn duties, raised by the preceding government, had to be studied. The report, in 1840, of the committee on import duties made necessary a revision of the tariff, and this involved an enormous amount of work. To one who hitherto knew nothing of trade, a man of schools and books, the task was huge. In accomplishing it, Gladstone did not spare himself. He received deputation after deputation of merchants and manufacturers, importers and exporters, brokers and bankers : he familiarised himself with all the intricacies of the despised "packages" : he met workmen and by close questioning learned the nature of their various occupations and how they would be affected by any tariff change. He was perhaps the first man in his office who really devoted himself to the business of government.

It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that, while his later achievements in legislation

and the value of side error, only, that increases

little assistance in mastering the details of the

... duties, raised by the preceding government, and to the

collected. The report, in 1846, was the first

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NOTE: The data were collected from November 2007 to June 2008.

a man of schools and books, the first was huge. In

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It is believed that the following information is relevant to the investigation of the above-mentioned case:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

and answers: the "unrelated"  $\chi^2$  test

of : "negotiated" designed not to solicit and not

Impact of climate change on low income

and the author's intention is to show that the

the following table list the number of deaths of human beings

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defined simply in the language of Gödel's:

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...wäre die Interaktion in der



had much to do with the matters of finance, yet it was merely the political circumstances of 1841 that enabled him to lay the foundations of those achievements. Had he had his own choice, he would have preferred to govern men. For trade he had no natural aptitude and no liking. Yet in this office he learnt that, in order to govern men wisely, close account must be taken of their material circumstances. The revision of the tariff and the consequent lightening of the burdens borne chiefly by the middle and lower classes, led him, perhaps at first insensibly, to free trade. The gradual increase of the volume of trade, resulting from lowered duties, tended to confirm that leading.

In 1843, a vacancy occurring, he is taken into the Cabinet, but in 1845 he retires. This retirement was caused by what some have considered to be an excess of scrupulosity. The government proposed a grant to Maynooth College. Gladstone favored it, but he remembered the principles for which he had strongly contended in his first book. In order that the

and could do with the nature of things, yet it

was surely the political circumstances of 1941

that enabled him to lay the foundations of those

collegiate, and he was his own master, he could

have preferred to govern men, not words. He had no

natural gifts and no liking. Yet in this office

he lasted long, in order to govern men wisely, since

actions must be taken at their various circumstances,

The revision of the treaty and the consequent 1942-

copy of the written word solely by the middle

and lower classes, had this, perhaps a first instance

of the first words. The gradual increase of the written

of words, resulting from lowered ability, led to

confirm that finding.

In 1942, a century occupied, he is taken into

the 1942, and in 1942 is written. This retirement

was caused by what was considered to be an

excess of rationality. The government proposed a

group in 1942, 1942, 1942, 1942, 1942, 1942, 1942,

It remembered the principles for which he had

by continued in the first world. In 1942, the

Cabinet might not be charged with inconsistency, he resigned. Late in the same year he again became a member of the government, as Colonial Secretary.

In 1846, the potato famine in Ireland, bringing about as it did, the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, completed the work begun at the Board of Trade in 1841. Gladstone was henceforth a free trader. During the administration of Lord John Russell, while not a supporter of the Liberals, but a leader among the Peelites, he becomes convinced that free trade is an accomplished fact and should no longer be considered as a question in party politics.

An opportunity came in 1853 to advance still further the principles of Reform. There were remaining certain duties and taxes considered burdensome. Gladstone, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, undertook to lighten or remove these. The duty on paper, the tax on advertisements and the stamp duty combined to make newspapers costly. What is to-day the reading matter of even the poorest class was then only the luxury of the rich. While Gladstone was



only the luxury of the rich. While Gladstone was  
reaching either of even the poorest class was then  
dined in some newspaper society. This is today the  
the tax on advertisements and the stamp duty on  
fact is limited on revenue lines. The duty on paper,  
distilled, for example, of the Chancellor, doubt-  
less certain duties and taxes considered burdensome.  
Further the privileges of the State. There were certain-  
an opportunity came in 1867 to advance still  
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trade is an accomplished fact and stands on a basis  
among the socialist, the reformer convinced that there  
which not a supporter of the liberal, but a leader  
During the administration of Lord John Russell,  
in 1861, Gladstone was appointed a free trader.  
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In 1840, the Liberal Party in Ireland, winning  
member of the Government, as Colonial Secretary,  
he resigned. Even in the same year he again became a  
Cabinet might not be expected with the Government.

not able to remove these paper duties all at once, a beginning was made, and some years later, he had the satisfaction of abolishing these "taxes on knowledge". In 1853, he began also that task of regulating the income-tax, a task // which he said he would not call herculean, because Hercules could not have // accomplished it. He increased the revenue at this time by a change in the succession duties. In all these matters he met with considerable opposition from the House of Lords, his first experience of what was so frequently to occur in the forty years still to follow.

In spite of the fact that, while in office, Gladstone had really been carrying out Reform or Liberal policy, he was not, until the year 1859, directly connected with the Liberal party. The fact was that, for thirteen years after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, there existed much confusion as to party politics in England. The Peelites formed not only a third party, distinct from Whigs or Tories, but there were considered to be no less than four

not able to remove these paper duties all at once, a  
beginning was made, and more years later, in 1855,  
restriction of shipping these slaves on American  
in 1855, a paper also that year of restricting the  
importation, a law which was also passed and  
all imports, because duties could not have  
accomplished it. He increased the revenue at this  
time by a number in the commercial duties. In 1851  
these duties he set with considerable opposition  
from the House of Lords, the first experience of  
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different shades of Peelites. The Coalition Ministry of Aberdeen was followed by the Coalition formed by Palmerston. The Conservative period of rule, with Derby and Disraeli as leaders, lasted but a few months more than a year. Then followed, in 1859, a Liberal government headed by Palmerston.

At this point Gladstone, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer, definitely joins the Liberal party. During the preceding years of confusion, there had been occasions when it was hoped that he would return to his early allegiance. More than once proposals looking in that direction had been made, but the hoped for "return of the prodigal" did not take place. His acceptance, under Derby, of a mission to the Ionian Islands proved that there was no real obstacle to that return. The effect of the mission on his own mind probably tended in the opposite direction. His progress in Liberal doctrines must have been quickened by the work that fell to him while High Commissioner.

Of his own place among Liberals, Gladstone him-

The Government has decided to withdraw its support from the National Front Party.

At this point Liberson, Economic Director of the Commission, definitely joins the liberal camp, joining the preceding group of conservatives. Little has been said about it yet, but it is well known that the early Liberson, like most of the early Libersons, was a conservative. He was a member of the first Liberson (and even later) and his "return of the Liberson" did not take place. The Liberson, under Liberson, of a mistake in

While High Commissioner, ... have been ... in their ... the ... of the ... the ... of the ...

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self says:

"Conviction, in spite of early associations and long-cherished prepossessions - strong conviction, and an overpowering sense of the public interests operating for many, many years before full effect was given to it, placed me in the ranks of the Liberal party".

Yet his union with the Liberals in this government is only another instance where he decided the case irrespective of party. He had voted to keep Lord Derby in, and the "man in the street" was scandalized at his immediately taking office under Derby's successor. Even some of his own friends could not understand his acceptance of a portfolio from a man against whom he had so often spoken. In a letter to a friend he defended his own action. The necessity of carrying on the Queen's government, which had been so strong an argument with the Great Duke in earlier years weighed with him. "At a moment, when war is raging in Europe, when the English government is the only instrument through which there is any hope, humanly speaking, of any safe and early



"Combining, in spite of early assimilation and  
 long-continued opposition - strong conviction,  
 and an overpowering sense of the noble instincts  
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 liberal party."

Yet the union with the liberals in this govern-  
 ment is only another instance where he declared the  
 cause irrespective of party. He had voted in 1868  
 for Garfield, and that year in the election was  
 re-elected at his immediately retiring office under  
 Garfield's administration. Even some of his new friends  
 could not understand his acceptance of a position  
 from a man against whom he had so often spoken. In  
 a letter to a friend he defended his own action.  
 The necessity of carrying on the Union's government,  
 which had been an almost an argument with the Union  
 since its earlier years weighed with him. "At a moment  
 when we are trying to restore, when the English  
 government is the only instrument through which we  
 can save, surely overlooking of our own party

settlement ----- I have joined the only administration that could be formed, in concert with all the friends ( setting aside those whom age excludes ) with whom I joined and acted in the government of Lord Aberdeen". He also considered that the question of reform, raised by the Derby government, should be settled. By dissolution, the latter had lost all chance of doing this.

Morley points out that this action on Gladstone's part meant merely a change of name - not a conversion. Palmerston's and Derby's principles were nearly identical. Hence his adherence to one did not mean a violent change in leaving the other. To quote from his biography : "Mr. Gladstone was at this time in his politics a liberal reformer of Turgot's type, a born lover of good government, of just practical laws, of wise improvement, of public business well handled, of a state that should emancipate and serve the individual." But while he did no violence to his principles, the change of name left him free to advance boldly upon the path of Reform.

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As Chancellor once more we find Gladstone again reducing the number of articles liable to customs duties - completing the work begun in 1842. When the first revision of the tariff was undertaken, the number stood at 1052, in 1853 it was 466, while in 1860 it was reduced to 48, of which only 15 were of importance.

The budget speech of 1860, lasting for four hours was a notable triumph for Gladstone. His proposal to remove the excise duty on paper brought opposition. This opposition came first from Palmerston, who, in a Cabinet meeting, spoke for three-quarters of an hour against the Paper Duties Bill. The majority of the Cabinet, however, favored it, but the bill was rejected that year by the Lords. This opposition produced, on the part of Gladstone an elaborate memorandum to the Cabinet on the paper duty and the taxing powers of the two Houses. He declared that he could never acquiesce in the pretensions of the other House. He ended by saying that : "The fiscal consideration is nothing compared with the vital importance of maintaining the exclusive rights of



As the number of nodes in the network increases, the number of nodes that are not connected to any other nodes (isolated nodes) also increases. This is because the probability of a node being connected to another node decreases as the number of nodes increases. This is a common problem in network analysis, and it is often solved by using a technique called "link prediction". Link prediction is a technique that uses the information about the existing links in the network to predict the likelihood of new links forming between nodes. This can be done by using a variety of methods, including statistical models, machine learning, and graph theory. The goal of link prediction is to identify the nodes that are most likely to be connected to each other, so that the network can be better understood and managed.

number alone as 100%. In 1965 it was 80%, while in 1960 it was reduced to 45, of which only 25 were of importance.

The subject speech of 1883, lasting two hours, was a notable triumph for Gladstone. His principal theme was the entire duty on paper brought upon the nation. The opposition was first from Johnston, who, in a lengthy meeting, spoke for two-quarters of an hour against the paper duties bill. The majority of the Cabinet, however, favored it, but the bill was rejected that year by the House. This rejection was based, on the part of his House as a whole, on the grounds that the duties on the paper duty was too onerous to the Cabinet on the paper duty and the taxing power of the two Houses. He declared that he would never consent in the presence of the other House. He noted by saying that the House would not be in the least concerned with the bill.

the House of Commons in matter of supply. There is hardly any conceivable interference of the Lords hereafter, except sending down a tax imposed by themselves, which would not be covered by this precedent. It may be said they are wise and will not do it. Assuming that they will be wise yet I for one am not willing that the House of Commons should hold on sufferance in the nineteenth century what it won in the seventeenth and confirmed and enlarged in the eighteenth."

The paper duties were finally removed by including the various financial proposals in a single bill. Thus the House of Commons affirmed its inviolable right to remit and impose taxes and to frame bills of supply.

It was during this administration that Gladstone's powers as a financier received deserved recognition. His untiring efforts to lighten the burden of the taxpayer, and his determination to resist all unnecessary expenditure called forth these words from Mr. Bright : "There is not a man who labours and sweats for his daily bread, there is not a woman

the House of Commons in matter of supply. There is

hardly any unanimous agreement of the House

therefore, except on the point of a new supply of

themselves, which would not be covered by this

provision. It may be said they are not and will not

do it. Assuming that they will be with you for now

we are willing that the House of Commons should

hold an conference in the nineteenth century and

it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth and the

larged in the eighteenth."

The paper further was finally removed by including

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But the House of Commons refused its assent to

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It was stated this objection that the House

passed as a financial measure passed provision

the entire matter to the House of Commons of the

response, and the determination to resist all in-

necessary expenditure. Indeed that there were some

it. Indeed, there is not a man in the House

sweats for his daily bread, there is not a woman

living in a cottage who strives to make her home happy for husband and children, to whom the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer have not brought hope, and to whom his measures, which have been defended with an eloquence few can equal and with a logic none can contest, have not administered consolation."

It is noteworthy that this administration sees the beginning of Gladstone's relations with the Nonconformists. As late as 1861 we find him opposing the bill to abolish Church rates. He must, however, have been slowly moving to a higher plane of action, and a broader ground of sympathy with those who differed from him ecclesiastically, for during the next ten years he reverses his vote as to the rates, and even introduces and carries a bill for their abolition. He also changes similarly in regard to tests at the Universities. In 1870 all lay degrees are thrown open to dissenters.

A generation had elapsed since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Great as that had been it



living in a cottage who strives to make her home  
happy for husband and children, in spite of the  
of the President of the Temperance Society, and  
home, and to whom his measures, which have been  
belonged also an abundance of war material and  
a single more war material, have not diminished  
consequence.

It is noteworthy that this administration  
the feeling of Washington's relations with the  
foreigners. As late as 1861 we find the  
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A constitution had signed since the coming of  
the Reform Bill of 1832, upon which had been

was yet incomplete and an advance had been demanded. Successive governments had played with the idea of a new Reform Bill, but nothing had been accomplished. Lord John Russell, the father of the first bill, was now Prime Minister. His chief lieutenant, Gladstone, having waited in vain for the opponents of Derby's Reform measure, to make proposals of their own, determined to bring about an extension of the franchise. A government bill, introduced about that time, for the redistribution of seats, gave opportunity to the opposition to complicate matters and Gladstone's Reform Bill was defeated. With the defeat of the measure came also the defeat of the government. The Derby-Disraeli ministry that succeeded found themselves under the necessity of passing a Reform Bill. Disraeli's proposals, some of which were nicknamed 'fancy franchises', suffered considerable change in the committee stage, mainly at the dictation of Gladstone and Bright. In the end the measure that was passed did not differ greatly from Gladstone's. It enfranchised all male householders rated for the relief of the poor, and

are asked for the relief of the poor, and

the yet inadequate and no advance has been demanded.  
The Government has been with the idea of a  
new Relief Bill, but nothing has been accomplished.  
Lord John Russell, the Father of the Poor Bill, was  
now Prime Minister. His object was to relieve the  
poor, but he failed in view for the opponents of the  
Government, to have proposals of their own,  
determined to fight about an extension of the  
Bill. A Government Bill, introduced about that time,  
for the relief of the poor, was supported by  
the Opposition in complete silence and disunion.  
The Bill was defeated. With the defeat of the  
Government came also the defeat of the Government.  
The Party-System finally that succeeded Lord  
Russell was the necessity of passing a Relief  
Bill. Russell's proposals, some of which were  
referred to "Lord Russell's", suffered completely  
in the Committee stage, mainly at the  
direction of the Opposition and Russell. In the end the  
Government did not pass the Bill, and the  
Opposition, if not satisfied with the result,

all lodgers resident for one year, and paying not less than ten pounds a year rent : and in counties, persons of property of the clear annual value of five pounds, and occupiers of lands or tenements paying twelve pounds a year."

In 1834, in a speech at Newark Gladstone had said "Protestant faith is held good for us, and what is good for us is also good for the population of Ireland". In this statement lies the keynote of all the misrule of Ireland by English legislators. From the time of the Union they had sought to impose on the Irish people, English laws, English customs and English faith. No account had been taken of differences arising from race, creed or material circumstances, and no attempt had been made to mitigate the fierce hatred engendered by cruel oppression lasting from the time of Cromwell. Before the close of the eighteenth century, Fox had said, "I would have the Irish Government regulated by Irish notions and Irish prejudices", but seventy years had elapsed ere any statesman of the fore-



all livestock resident for one year, and paying not less than ten pounds a year rent - and in addition, payment of property of the client annual value of (the pounds), and possession of lands or tenements paying twelve pounds a year."

In 1834, in a speech at Liverpool Blandford had said "The statement which is made for us, and which is good for us is also good for the population of Ireland." In this statement lies the key-note of all the misdeeds of Ireland by English legislators. From the time of the Union they had sought to impose on the Irish people, English laws, English customs and English titles. No account had been taken of differences arising from race, creed or political circumstances, and no attempt had been made to distinguish the things which engaged by their opposition lasting from the time of Cromwell, before the close of the eighteenth century. The law said, "It would have the Irish Government regulated by Irish notions and Irish prejudices," but every court had studied and had observed of the laws.

most rank had arisen brave enough to undertake the the difficult cure of Irish woes.

Thirty-four years of close association with the problems of wise legislation had led Gladstone to see that his words at Newark were but the reflection by a young man of the sentiments in common vogue. In 1868 he assumed for the first time the office of First Lord of the Treasury. He had reached the age of fifty-nine. He had passed a generation in public service. His accomplishments as Chancellor of the Exchequer were unsurpassed. Had he chosen to consider all or any of these reasons good and sufficient to prevent him undertaking any new work, he could not have been blamed. Unconscious, however, that his greatest achievements still lie before him, he assumed the burden of 'pacifying Ireland'.

According to his view, there were at that time three great evils existing to disturb the Irish people. These evils consisted in the Church Establishment, the System of Land Tenure, and the condition of the Irish Universities.

As a population engaged almost exclusively in

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of the Irish Universities.

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things. These evils existed in the Church of Ire-  
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of the Exchequer were unimpaired, and he claims to  
public service. His accomplishments as Director  
age of fifty-nine. He had turned a generation in

of fifty-four of the Treasury. He had reached the  
in 1866 he returned for the first time the office  
by a young man of the nobility in certain years.

and that his words at Bristol were but the reflection  
problem of vice legislation and the situation in  
Thirty-four years of close association with the

the difficult cure of Irish woes.

and that the British people should be reminded of

agriculture, the Irish were particularly interested in the removal of the first and second of these evils. The payment of tithes for the support of a Protestant Church when the great majority of the people consisted of Roman Catholics would have lost none of its injustice even had the people been well able to pay. When such a payment was required from those whose condition was that of extreme poverty, positive injury was added to injustice.

Church Disestablishment was therefore to bring direct relief to the poorest Irishman. Needless to say, the proposal was met by opposition. English clergymen denounced the bill as 'highly offensive to Almighty God' and 'the greatest national sin ever committed'. Their attacks were no doubt embittered because they had so long considered Gladstone the champion of the Established Church and of union between Church and State. In the end the House of Lords gave way after a conference, by which much better terms were secured for the new Irish Church.



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In the following year the second evil was attacked. Save in Ulster, the common system of land tenure was tenancy at will, terminable at six months' notice. A tenant who was able to make improvements ( the landlord made none ), was rewarded by having his rent raised. The logical outcome of this, according to the report of a government commission, was crime and disorder. If, as often happened, eviction followed refusal or inability to pay increased rent, there was no compensation to a tenant for any improvements he may have made. The Land Bill was a courageous attempt to remedy this injustice, and the Conservatives did not strongly oppose it. The Ulster tenant-right was made a legal institution for the whole of Ireland.

It was not until 1873 that Gladstone was able to undertake legislation regarding Irish Universities and his proposed changes did not meet with the approval of either Roman Catholics or Tories. Their combined opposition led to the rejection of his bill and also to the defeat of the Liberals. Before this came to pass it had been shown that the other Irish legislation, righteous as it was , was not

In the following year the House will see a bill  
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combined opposition led to the rejection of the  
bill and also to the defeat of the Liberals. Before  
this time it was not clear that the other  
Irish legislation, originated as it was, was not

sufficient to rid the country of the outrages of Fenianism. In 1870 resort had to be made to another Coercion Act.

Irish legislation was not the only great work attempted by the first Gladstone Ministry. Equal in importance was the establishment of a system of National Education. In the opinion of the writer it must ever be a matter for regret that the planning of this system was undertaken by any one save the Chief Minister. While he recognized the necessity of a National System, he was at that time too much 'obsessed', as his biographer calls it, by Irish affairs, to give to Education the thought and time such a measure of importance demanded. Had he really studied the need, had he gone into the details of the various organizations then existing, had he effected a separation in his own mind between religion and education, we cannot but believe that he would have had the courage to propose a system of free education broad enough to meet the needs of all classes and creeds.

Instead, we learn from a letter that <sup>he</sup> set aside



sufficient to fill the country of the outposts of  
Nationalism. In 1900 resort had to be made to another  
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With legislation for the first time since 1801  
enacted by the first National Assembly, which in  
legislation was the establishment of a system of  
National Education. In the opinion of the writer  
it must ever be a matter for regret that the passing  
of this system was undertaken by any one save the  
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of a National System, he was at that time the only  
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Instead, we learn from a letter that, not only

his own convictions and gave loyal support to his colleagues. His own comment on the outlines given by Forster appear in a letter to Lord de Grey:

"Why not adopt frankly the principle that the State or the local community should provide the secular teaching, and either leave the option to the ratepayers to go beyond the sine qua non, if they think fit, within the limits of the conscience clause, or else simply leave the parties themselves to find Bible and other religious education from voluntary sources ?"

Had no schools existed previously the question might have been settled simply ; but already a large number of voluntary schools were in operation. Denominational schools of various kinds were receiving government aid. The private funds employed in the establishment or endowment of these had to be respected, so that the government could neither close these schools nor take them over as public property. The matter was further complicated by the necessity of compelling parents to send their

necessity of compelling parents to send their

property. The matter was further complicated by the  
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colleges. His own account on the subject is  
his own convictions and gave loyal support to his

children to school.

Considering all these difficulties, there can be little doubt that Gladstone alone, in the government, had the ability to settle the question upon the high ground of statesmanship instead of the lower one of compromise. There would not then have been the retrograde Act of 1902, which now, for nearly ten years has been resisted by the Nonconformists of England. Compromise though it was, the system was vastly better than none, though Bright characterized the Act as "the worst Act passed by any Liberal parliament since 1832".

Two other measures of reform mark this first period of Gladstone's leadership. Army reform as indicated by the abolition of the purchase of commissions. This, resisted by the Lords, was attained by the cancelling of the previous royal warrant, under which the purchase had been made possible, and the issuing of a new warrant abolishing purchase. The Lords also opposed the introduction of the ballot. This measure came up again the next



children to school.

Considering all these difficulties, there was in 1815 doubt that education alone, in the government,

and the ability to settle the question upon the high ground of statecraft instead of the lower one of dogmatism. There would not then have been the statistics act of 1802, which now, for nearly two years has been resisted by the House of Commons of England. Doubtless though it was, the system was vastly better than none, though slight changes were made the act as "the worst not named by any liberal parliament since 1815".

The other measures of reform since 1815 have been of Obedience's legislation. Any reform is indicated by the abolition of the practice of entailed estates. This, resisted by the lords, was attained by the annulling of the previous royal warrant, under which the practice had been made possible, and the issuing of a new warrant annulling the same. The lords also opposed the introduction of the bill. This measure came up again the next

year, 1872, and was then passed. This reform, long advocated, perhaps did not realize all the expectations of its promoters, but it brought relief at least to the Irish voter. He could now vote without being intimidated by his landlord.

Despite the "days'work of a giant" accomplished by this administration in bringing about these needed reforms, there was considerable disaffection in Liberal ranks. One great source of this was the alienation of the Nonconformists by the provisions of the Education Act. This, combined with other influences, especially what Gladstone himself called "a torrent of gin and beer", brought about the defeat of Liberals in the elections that took place early in 1874. The Liberal leader now wished to resign and he practically retired for a time from the leadership of his party. No one could then foresee that there were twenty years more of public life for him and that on three different occasions he would be entrusted with the task of forming a government.

Of the legislation undertaken by him in these

year, 1872, and was then passed. This reform, long  
neglected, was not until the passage  
of its promoters, but it brought  
about the first vote. It was not until  
out being initiated by his landlord.  
"The first step was a clear recognition  
of the education in England at that time  
which reform, there was considerable discussion  
to the result. The great success of this was the  
education of the young people by the government  
of the education act. This, combined with other  
influences, especially that of the education  
act of 1870, led to the result that was  
the result of the act in the education of the  
year 1874. The first step was the  
to raise and to generally extend the law  
from the beginning of the year. It was not until  
1874 that there was a great deal of public  
life for the first time in the education of the  
in which he was interested with the law of 1874

periods of power, we would mention only : The Irish Land Bill of 1881 ; The Franchise Bill of 1884 ;and the two attempts, in 1886 and 1893, to give Home Rule to Ireland.

The first of these was really the completion of the Land Bill of eleven years previous. According to the author of the measure it was to redress grievances due, not to the iniquity of the landlords, but to "land-hunger" and bad seasons. The previous legislation had not brought relief enough to overcome the effect of poor years. The most important clauses provided for the establishment of a "judicial rent" to be fixed for fifteen years ; in cases where the tenant wished to become the owner, he was enabled to borrow three-fourths of the required amount from the government at a low rate of interest.

The Franchise Act of 1884, adding, as it did, 2,000,000 voters to the lists in the United Kingdom, provoked, as usual, the opposition of the Lords. This was overcome in an autumn session after Gladstone had, by a series of speeches, transferred



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to the action of the measure it was to restore  
the principle of the Irish, and to the principle of the Irish  
Land, and to "Irish-land" and land reform. The  
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2,000,000 votes to the Irish in the United Kingdom,  
and, moreover, as usual, the opposition of the Irish.  
This was followed in an attempt to give Irish  
land, and, as a result of the measure, the

the discussion from the Parliament to the country. While he had an excellent opportunity to rouse the animosity of the people against the hereditary Chamber, yet his speeches were distinguished by moderation, appealing to the reason rather than to the fears of his hearers. He pointed significantly to the fact that out of twelve parliaments elected since the Reform Bill of 1832, ten were Liberal. Of the other two, only one was Tory from beginning to end. The House of Lords was in sympathy with that one parliament, and in opposition to the ten parliaments. Yet it claimed that the Tory parliament represented the solid and permanent opinion of the country.

With the various influences and occurrences, many of them minor, leading up to the two attempts to give Home Rule to Ireland, this paper can not deal. It need only be said that Gladstone had become convinced that rule by repression in Ireland had had sufficiently long trial to show its ineffectiveness. What ever could be done from the outside in the way of remedial legislation had been done. There

its disconnection from the Government in the country.  
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still remained disorder and disaffection. In spite of the opposition he knew he would encounter, he was still willing to risk his position in the attempt to bring about the only method still untried.

by the House of Lords

The rejection, in 1893 of the second Home Rule Bill, together with their opposition to another measure, the Parish Councils Bill, in 1894, closed Gladstone's long struggle with the Upper Chamber. In his closing speech in the House of Commons his words concerning the Lords are a very fair prophecy of the struggle that was to continue at intervals for more than fifteen years, and that now, at the present moment, occupies the foremost position in English politics.

All mention of Gladstone's connection with foreign affairs has necessarily been omitted, <sup>but</sup> his sympathy with various States struggling for constitutional freedom, notably the Italian States, should be spoken of in order to show the broadening and deepening of his interest in political freedom.

Even at the very close of his life he was ready to



1. The Commission has received information from the  
2. Department of the Interior that the Bureau of Land  
3. Management is currently reviewing the status of the  
4. various lands owned by the United States in the  
5. State of California. The Commission is interested  
6. in the results of this review and in the action  
7. which may be taken by the Department of the Interior  
8. in connection with the same.

The rejection of the 1907 of the House of Lords  
by the House of Lords  
in 1911, about the only bill which was

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...and the ...

Disasters' loss struggle with the United Nations.

to his direct appeal in the House of Lords in 1992.

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Of the systems that are in contact at intervals

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1940-1941

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[illegible]

... ..

spend his energies in rousing England on behalf of the oppressed Armenians.

In domestic legislation we have seen how, almost from the very first of his career, he was engaged in promoting measures of reform. As soon as he had reached the point in his life where he was able to rise above the great influences of his early training and teaching, and to think independently of tradition; as soon as his native love of truth, honesty, and justice could declare itself ; just so soon did he range himself on the side of beneficial and constructive as opposed to repressive and burdensome legislation. He came on the scene of English History at the point when the genius of Anglo-Saxon constitution, recovering from the serious check given by the French Revolution to the advance of reform ideas, began anew the development of those principles of self-government which are its peculiar distinction. His long life was largely an expression of that development, whilst his marvellous powers as a thinker and speaker, his purity of purpose, and

spend his energies in raising himself on behalf of the oppressed Armenians.

It is worthy legislation to have been his, raised

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as soon as the native love of truth, honesty, and

justice would decide itself: just as soon did he

throw himself on the side of liberal and non-

conformative as opposed to conservative and traditional

legislation. He was on the side of justice

before at the point when the cause of justice

was considered, restoring from the bottom

down given by the French Revolution to the cause

of reform ideas, before that the development of ideas

principles of self-government which are the peculiar

distinction. His life was largely an expression

of the development, which his various works

as a thinker and writer, the spirit of justice, and

his lofty ideals combined to make him at the same  
time its most perfect leader.



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